

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-11

INFO OCT-01 AF-06 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 AID-05 COME-00 EB-07 FRB-03 TRSE-00 XMB-02

OPIC-03 CIEP-01 LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 CU-02 DHA-02

ARA-06 EA-07 NEA-10 AGR-05 /135 W

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R 020825Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4022

INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY BAMAKO

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY MONTREAL

AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BANJUL BY POUCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAKAR 1266

PARIS ALSO FOR UNESCO

ROME FOR RAO

MONTREAL FOR ICAO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PORG, PFOR, SG

SUBJ: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: SENEGALESE OBJECTIVES/INTERESTS

REF: STATE 037591

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1. SUMMARY: SENEGALESE MULTILATERAL INTERESTS ARE SHAPED BY

MEMBERSHIP IN DISPARATE SUBREGIONAL, AFRICAN, THIRD WORLD AND UN BODIES. IMPORTANT OBJECTIVES ARE SUBREGIONAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION, IMPLEMENTATION OF LOME AGREEMENT, APPLICATION OF NIEO PRINCIPLES, PROMOTING "NEGRITUDE" AND "DIALOGUE," FOSTERING INTRA-AFRICAN SOLIDARITY, FORGING ARAB CONNECTION, PROMOTING SELF-DETERMINATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, ENHANCING NON-ALIGNED CREDENTIALS, AND MAXIMIZING DAKAR'S ROLE AS INTERNATIONAL CENTER. SENEGAL HAS ENJOYED SUCCESS IN ELECTING CANDIDATES TO MULTILATERAL BODIES. INFLUENCE ON SENEGAL REFLECTS TIES TO FRANCOPHONE COMMUNITY, OAU, ARABS/OPEC, NAC AND GROUP OF 77, BUT BASIC COMMITMENT TO BLACK IDENTITY SETS CERTAIN LIMITS. SENGHOR MAINTAINS CONTROL OVER FOREIGN POLICY, THOUGH PROCEDURAL TACTICS ARE LEFT TO REPRESENTATIVES ON SCENE, SOME OF WHOM HAVE STRONG PERSONAL BASES OF AUTHORITY. MULTILATERAL ISSUES ARE CONTINUING SUBJECT OF BILATERAL INTERACTION IN DAKAR. END SUMMARY

2. SENEGAL'S MULTILATERAL INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES ARE SHAPED BY ITS INVOLVEMENT IN OVERLAPPING ORBITS OF INSTITUTIONAL COOPERATION FOCUSSED ON WEST AFRICA, FRANCOPHONE COMMUNITY, OAU, INTERNATIONAL BLACK DIASPORA, EURO-AFRICAN AND AFRO-ARAB AXES, NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES AND GROUP OF 77, AS WELL AS UN FAMILY.

3. MULTILATERAL ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES ARE TO: (A) PROMOTE HARMONIZATION OF WEST AFRICAN ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL POLICIES THROUGH MULTILATERAL MONETARY, TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS OMVS, OMV, CILSS, BCEAO AND CEAO (THERE IS SUBSIDIARY DESIRE TO RESIST NIGERIAN PREPONDERANCE IN REGION AND OFFSET SOVIET INFLUENCE); (B) ACCELERATE IMPLEMENTATION OF LOME AGREEMENT OF ASSOCIATION OF ACP COUNTRIES WITH EEC (COROLLARY IS QUEST FOR EDF AID); (C) PRESS FOR APPLICATION OF PRINCIPLES OF NIEO, WITH EMPHASIS ON INDEXATION (RECOGNITION OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY OVER OFF-SHORE NATURAL RESOURCES IS PRIMARY GOS OBJECTIVE IN LOS CONFERENCE).

4. FOLLOWING POLITICAL/CULTURAL OBJECTIVES ARE EVIDENT: (A) PROMOTE PRESIDENT SENGHOR'S CONCEPT OF NEGRITUDE AS FOUNDATION OF COOPERATION BETWEEN BLACK NATIONS (POLICY IS CONFIDENTIAL

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MANIFEST IN GOS EFFORT TO RESTRICT ARAB PARTICIPATION IN BLACK ARTS FESTIVAL AND IN UNESCO AFRICAN GATHERINGS, IN ORDER TO PRESERVE PHILOSOPHICAL CENTER STAGE FOR NEGRITUDE-- (DAKAR 7093); (B) PROMOTE "DIALOGUE" AS MEANS TO RESOLVE INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS (THIS POLICY MAXIMIZES POTENTIAL INFLUENCE OVER INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES BY SMALL COUNTRY WITH NO SIGNIFICANT MILITARY CAPABILITY WHICH, HOWEVER, HAS ASSET OF DISTINGUISHED ELDER STATESMAN IN SENGHOR, WHOSE

GOOD OFFICES AS MEDIATOR ARE FREELY AVAILABLE); (C) FOSTER INTRA-AFRICAN SOLIDARITY (THIS LEADS TO EMPHASIS ON "AFRICAN" SOLUTIONS AND RESISTANCE TO EXTERNAL INTERVENTION IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS); (D) FORGE INSTITUTIONAL LINKS WITH ARAB WORLD THROUGH ECONOMIC TIES, PARTICIPATION IN MUSLIM ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS ISLAMIC CONFERENCE, AND SUPPORT FOR ARAB-AFRICAN CONSULTATION THROUGH FOREIGN MINISTERS' AND SUMMIT MEETINGS (COROLLARY OBJECTIVE IS DESIRE FOR AID); (E) PROMOTE SELF-DETERMINATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA; HAVING RECEIVED NO RESPONSE TO SENGHOR'S OVERTURES TO SOUTH AFRICA (DAKAR 108), SENEGAL MAY BE EXPECTED TO ENDORSE EFFORTS TO DETERMINE THAT THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY EXISTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND SUPPORT OTHER MOVES TO PRESSURE SOUTH AFRICA (HOWEVER, SENEGALESE MILITANCE IS TEMPERED BY CLOSE TIES TO FRANCE AND WEST, APPREHENSIONS OVER SOVIET INFLUENCE IN AFRICA AND COMMITMENT TO UNIVERSALITY IN INTERNATIONAL BODIES); (F) PLAY ACTIVE ROLE IN NAC COORDINATING GROUP AND REMAIN IN FOREFRONT OF SELECTED THIRD WORLD CAUSES (SUCH AS DPRK RESOLUTIONS AND ADMISSION OF VIETNAM TO UN) IN ORDER TO ENHANCE NON-ALIGNED CREDENTIALS (SENEGAL IS ALSO VOICING SUPPORT FOR RESTRUCTURING UN, INCLUDING ABOLITION OF VETO AND UPGRADING OF UNIDO, TO ACCOMMODATE LDC INTERESTS); (G) MAXIMIZE ROLE OF DAKAR AS INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE CENTER FOR GATHERINGS RELATED TO ABOVE INTERESTS (E.G., RECENT CONFERENCES OF COMMODITIES AND NAMIBIA AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

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R 020825Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4023  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
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AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY BANJUL BY POUCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 DAKAR 1266

PARIS ALSO FOR UNESCO

ROME FOR FAO

MONTREAL FOR ICAO

5. EMBASSY IS NOT AWARE THAT GOS PURSUING MEMBERSHIP IN OTHER BODIES, OR THAT CANDIDACIES FOR POSITIONS IN MULTILATERAL GROUPS PENDING. IN RECENTPAST, HOWEVER, SENEGALESE SUCCESSFUL IN NOMINATING DIRECTOR-GENERAL (MBOW) OF UNESCO, SECRETARY GENERAL (KARIM GAYE) OF ISLAMIC CONFERENCE, PRESIDENT (MEDOUNE FALL) OF UN PALESTINE COMMITTEE, CEO HEAD (CHEIKH CONFIDENTIAL

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IBRAHIMA FALL), AS WELL AS IMPOSING CANDIDATE HAND-PICKED BY SENGHOR TO RUN OMVS (MAMADOU AW), AND MAINTAINING MEMBERSHIP IN NAC COORDINATING GROUP. IN NEWLY-FORMED UN PALESTINE COMMITTEE, FALL MAY BE EXPECTED TO ATTEMPT TO SHAPE FINDINGS TO REFLECT SENEGALESE SUPPORT FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF PALESTINIAN STATE.

6. IN SUPPORT OF ITS INTEREST, GOS MAKES CLEAR EFFORTS TO INFLUENCE GAMBIA AND OTHER NEIGHBORS, AS WELL AS FRANCOPHONE COMMUNITY AND OTHER FELLOW OAU MEMBERS. CONVERSELY, SENEGAL IS UNDER PRESSURE TO CONFORM TO POSITIONS TAKEN WITHIN FRANCOPHONE COMMUNITY, TO PRESERVE OAU SOLIDARITY, AND TO ACCEPT CONSENSUS WITHIN GROUP OF 77 AND NAC. WHERE STRONG GOS INTERESTS NOT AT STAKE (I.E. DISCUSSION OF PUERTO RICO BY NAC), SENEGAL IS NOT DISPOSED TO INCUR OPPROBRIUM BY DISASSOCIATING ITSELF FROM CONSENSUS, ALTHOUGH ON ISSUES IMPORTANT TO SENEGAL (SUCH AS ANGOLA, WHERE SOVIET INTERFERENCE PARALLELS THREAT SENGHOR PERCEIVES IN WEST AFRICA AS WELL) GOS HAS RESISTED OAU BANWAGON. SENEGALESE SUPPORT FOR LDCS IN NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE AND ITS OPENING TOWARD ARAB WORLD ENTAIL STRONG COMMITMENT TO "SOLIDARITY AND

RECIPROCAL SUPPORT BETWEEN OIL PRODUCING COUNTRIES AND PRODUCERS OF OTHER PRIMARY MATERIALS." IRAN IS ALSO FORGING MAJOR ECONOMIC LINKS WITH SENEGAL WHICH CREATE CONCOMMITANT POLITICAL LEVERAGE. SENEGAL IS THUS VULNERABLE TO ARAB AND OPEC INFLUENCE, THOUGH IN PRACTICE IT HAS TAKEN INDEPENDENT LINE ON MIDDLE EAST (C.F. DAKAR 6705). AS EMBASSY HAS COMMENTED ELSEWHERE (DAKAR 6934), SENEGALESE SUPPORT FOR ARABS IS SET AGAINST UNDERLYING COMMITMENT TO BLACK IDENTITY AND INTEGRITY WHICH IS INHERENTLY RESISTANT TO MORE HEAVY HANDED ARAB DEMANDS.

7. SENGHOR MAINTAINS PERSONAL CONTROL OVER MAJOR ELEMENTS OF SENEGALESE FOREIGN POLICY, SOMETIMES GIVING INSTRUCTIONS DIRECTLY TO REPS TO INTERNATIONAL BODIES, BY-PASSING FOREIGN MINISTRY. HE INSTRUCTS FOREIGN MINISTER ON POSITIONS TAKEN IN OAU AND ISSUES GENERAL GUIDANCE TO UN PERMREP, ALTHOUGH DAY-TO-DAY TACTICS ARE LEFT TO REPRESENTATIVE ON SCENE. THERE IS THUS LITTLE EFFORT TO MAINTAIN CONTROL OVER DELEGATES WHILE MEETINGS ARE IN PROGRESS. SENGHOR PERSONALLY DETERMINES SENEGAL'S POSITION ON SUCH IMPORTANT ISSUES AS SUPPORT FOR CONFIDENTIAL

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DPRK AND ZIONISM/RACISM RESOLUTIONS, CAMPAIGN AGAINST FULL ARAB PARTICIPATION IN BLACK CULTURAL FORA, AND OPPOSITION TO MPLA WITHIN OAU FRAMEWORK. YET DURING PROTRACTED UNGA VOTING ON KOREA, WE ARE TOLD GOS PERMREP FALL MADE OWN DECISIONS ON PROCEDURAL VOTES AT EVERY STAGE, JUSTIFYING HIS ACTION AFTER FACT. GOS TOLERANCE OF "UNDISCIPLINED" BEHAVIOR AND INADEQUATE REPORTING BY INTERNATIONAL REPS HAS ITS LIMITS, HOWEVER, AS EVIDENCED BY REMOVAL OF MOHAMMED DIOURY FROM WORLD FOOD COUNCIL/FAO (DAKAR 4352, 5465).

8. ALTHOUGH WE CANNOT PINPOINT THEIR EXACT NATURE, EMBASSY BELIEVES UN PERMREP FALL POSSESSES BASE OF INDEPENDENT PERSONAL POWER, POSSIBLY THROUGH INTERITED FAMILY PRESTIGE. HE HAS DEGREE OF ENTREE WITH SENGHOR WHICH SOMETIMES MAKES IT DIFFICULT FOR FOREIGN MINISTRY OR PRIME MINISTER TO CONTROL HIS ACTIONS. (SINCE HE ALSO SERVES AS GOS REPRESENTATIVE TO NAC MEETINGS, PROBLEM EXTENDS BEYOND NEW YORK).

9. ANOTHER COMMON PHENOMENON OCCURS IN NEGOTIATIONS WHICH ARE OF SUCH TECHNICAL COMPLEXITY THAT REPRESENTATIVE ON SCENE BECOMES PRE-EMINENT GOS EXPERT AND THIS ACQUIRES BASE OF INDEPENDENT AUTHORITY. EXAMPLE IS LOS NEGOTIATIONS, WHERE GOS DELEGATE AMADOU MOCTAR CISSE IS IN POSITION TO SHAPE GOS POLICY WITHIN BROAD ESTABLISHED PRINCIPLES CONCERNING SOVEREIGNTY OVER NATURAL RESOURCES AND LIMITS OF TERRITORIAL SEAS AND FISHING ZONES. FINANCE MINISTER BABACAR BA, AS FOREMOST GOS SPOKESMAN ON ECONOMIC ISSUES, ENJOYS SIMILAR POSITION IN HIS DOMAIN.

10. GOS IS RECEPTIVE TO US REPRESENTATIONS ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES. BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP IS SUCH THAT FRANK DIALOGUE IS POSSIBLE EVEN ON ISSUES WHERE OUR POSITIONS ARE NOT IN ACCORD. SENEGALESE ACCEPT BILATERAL INTERACTION ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES, ALTHOUGH OVERT MANIPULATION OF AID IN REPRISAL FOR MULTILATERAL VOTING STRIKES THEM AS INEPT SINCE BOTH THEY AND WE SEE HUMANITARIAN RATIONALE AS BASIS FOR AID PROGRAM. GOS SOLICITS US SUPPORT FOR CANDIDACIES TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS (E.G. FAO COUNCIL (DAKAR 5906) AND UNESCO), CONSULTS OPENLY WITH US ON MUTUALLY IMPORTANT SUBSTANTIVE QUESTIONS (SUCH AS ANGOLA) AND HAS ACTIVELY SOUGHT POSITIVE US RESPONSE TO LDC ECONO-  
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MIC DEMANDS. SUCH EXCHANGES ARE CONCENTRATED IN DAKAR DUE TO CENTRALLY-DIRECTED CHARACTER OF GOS FOREIGN POLICY AND SUPERIORITY OF US COMMUNICATIONS.  
AGGREY

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## Message Attributes

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**Draft Date:** 02 MAR 1976  
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